

369 At night in Sart Tashkent, as in all other towns of Turkestan in-
625 habited by natives, all social intercourse is at a standstill. The secret
361 police which is also retained under Russian rule for the native towns, has
hit upon the practical arrangement of regarding as an evildoer and
taking into custody everyone, without regard to person, who is found on
the street after dark. This measure has in addition the important ad-
[365] vantage of making any outlay of money for street lighting superfluous.
Nocturnal peace is, however, in no way essentially furthered by this.
For the numerous nightwatchmen produce such a terrible racket and
uproar with their drumming and clappers, which they are officially
required to use constantly as a proof of conscientious execution of
duty, in combination with the uninterrupted yelping of countless stray
dogs, which alone populate the streets at night waging pitched battles
with each other, that a newcomer is unable for nights on end to get a
wink of sleep, especially during warm weather when one is forced by
the great heat to sleep outdoors or at least by an open window.

4. The Population of Sart Tashkent.

161 In spite of the considerable expanse of the town, which, including
the gardens, has as great an area as Paris, the population figure for
Sart Tashkent is only about 125,000. It is impossible to give a more
accurate figure, for to penetrate into the families for the purpose of a
regular census is rendered impossible by the Mohammedan prejudices
of the inhabitants. The Russian administration has had to limit itself
to establishing the number of courts which are permanently occupied
by a family, and which are taken as the basic unit in the allotment of
taxes. For each family, one usually reckons five individuals, which
should be fairly close to the truth. /173/ /Figure 62, p. 20a. Caption:
A view of Kuldja (from a photography by G. Merzbacher)./

162 /174/ Tashkent has the most mixed population of all the towns in
Turkestan, which is only to be expected, considering the position of
the town and its history, for all the Mongol tribal groups pouring out
of Dzungaria into Turkestan had to go through the region of Tashkent
in the course of time, and could press forward only by conquering this
powerful town. As a result, Tashkent's original Indo-European in-
habitants have been perpetually mixed with the people deposited by
all the later migrations, and consequently one encounters all possible
types among the people of Tashkent.

Turkestan

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The neighbouring countries of Eastern and Western Turkestan, situated in the heart of Central Asia and separated from each other by the Tien Shan mountains, have little more in common than the name, which points to the fact that the country is peopled by Turkish tribes. Because of its extreme barrenness, which makes permanent settlement exceedingly difficult, and its commercially favourable situation between the vast territory of China and the ancient civilizations of Western Asia, Eastern Turkestan is essentially a transit country. In striking contrast to this desert land stands Western Turkestan, which has seen so many influxes of wandering tribes, so many invasions and different settlers, that it is in every respect one of the most interesting countries in the world.

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The great differences existing between the two countries is best shown by the differences in the density of the population, which depends on the number of people which a country can feed. Western Turkestan (Russian Turkestan) has an extent of about 770,000 square miles, and is inhabited by about 9 million people. Thus the average population per square mile amounts to only 11.5, a fact which shows that large tracts of the country are uninhabitable deserts, and that on the whole it is sparsely populated. Compared with Eastern Turkestan, where only 1 1/2 million people inhabit 386,000 square miles, it is, however, a veritable paradise. Eastern Turkestan is one of the most thinly populated countries in the world.

167 settling some of their excess population in the sparsely inhabited steppe regions of Central Asia. This colonizing enterprise brought to Central Asia about 1 million peasants, most of whom made their home in the eastern parts of the steppe region and in the Semirechensk province of Turkestan. The newcomers were provided by the government with generous land allotments (transferred from the Crown, which claimed as its property all the nomadic grazing lands) and inventory, and settled in compact villages, apart from the Kazakh-Kirghiz natives, most of whom continued their traditional nomadic or seminomadic habits. The colonization program had only a limited success, for after the outbreak of World War I the large-scale Russian influx into the steppe regions ceased; the Russians living in the Kazakh Republic in 1939 still consisted in their majority of the original Stolypin colonists or their direct descendants. The proportion of Russians in the total population of the steppe region would not have grown appreciably, therefore, were it not for the fact that the upheavals which had occurred in that area during World War I and the Russian Revolution (the 1916 Kazakh-Kirghiz revolt, and the famine of 1920-21) led to a considerable decrease in the native population. While the Kazakh-Kirghiz population remained virtually constant between 1911 and 1926, the local Russian population increased during the same period through natural growth by one-fourth. As a result of these demographic changes, Muslims constituted by 1926 only two-thirds of the population of the Kazakh Republic. (See Table II.)

167 162 Turkestan succeeded in maintaining its ethnic homogeneity somewhat longer than the steppe region. The Russian influx into Turkestan prior to the Revolution was predominantly urban, consisting of officials, merchants, military personnel, and other groups connected with this area's administration and economic development. Thus, in 1926 the Russians still constituted merely 7.4 percent of the population of Turkestan.

The next important change in the demography of Central Asia occurred around 1930 as a consequence of Russian immigration and the further decrease of the native population. The Russians who migrated into Central Asia during this period were both victims of collectivization seeking to find refuge and to make a living on the Asiatic frontier, and settlers who followed in the wake of the newly constructed Turkestan-Siberian (Turk-sib) railroad. These migrants — whose number may be tentatively esti-

162 Table II: DISTRIBUTION OF THE RUSSIAN POPULATION IN CENTRAL ASIA
(Including estimates for Khiva and Bukhara; in round figures)

	1897	1911	1926	1939
Steppe	500,000	1,600,000	2,100,000	c. 2,600,000
Turkestan	200,000	400,000	600,000	c. 1,900,000
Percent of Russians in total population of Central Asia	6.8	15.3	19.7	c. 27.1

MUSLIMS OF SOVIET CENTRAL ASIA

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mated between 1926 and 1939^{*} at 1,300,000 — settled not in the steppe¹⁶⁷ but in Turkestan. While the 1939 census did not provide ethnographic¹⁶² breakdowns for the individual republics (with one exception noted below⁹), it is possible, by comparing the growth of the population within the individual republics with the total growth of the major Central Asian ethnic groups (both reported by Soviet sources), to arrive at a reasonably close estimate of the distribution of the Russian newcomers:

In the Uzbek Republic.....	720,000
In the Kirghiz Republic.....	285,000
In the Tajik Republic.....	155,000
In the Turkmen Republic.....	135,000

More than one-half of the migrants, in other words, settled in the Uzbek Republic, where in all probability most of them moved into the towns (Tashkent especially) and the expanding industrial centers of the Ferghana valley. In the Tajik and Turkmen Republics most of the Russian newcomers probably also settled in the cities, while in Kirghizia, where there were numerous Russian agricultural settlements of pre-Revolutionary vintage, they moved into the countryside as well (the total urban population of the Kirghiz Republic grew, between 1926 and 1939, only by 150,000, whereas the total Russian population there increased in the same period by an estimated 285,000 immigrants).

Another factor which increased the ratio of Russians to Muslims in Central Asia was the decline in the Muslim population of the steppe due to the terrors of the period of collectivization. According to Soviet census statistics, the Kazakh population of the Soviet Union decreased between 1926 and 1939 from 3,960,000 to 3,099,000 — a decline of about a million and a half if one takes into consideration the normal rate of growth.¹⁶¹

Thus, by 1939 the Muslims probably formed less than one-half of the inhabitants in the steppe region and about four-fifths of those in Turkestan.¹⁶² The ratio of Muslims to Russians in all of Central Asia dropped from 15 to 1 in 1897 to less than 4 to 1 in 1939. Obviously, such a rapid demographic change was bound to have profound effects on the ability of the natives to preserve their ethnic identity, the more so since the influx of Russians appears to have continued undiminished after 1939, becoming particularly rapid during the period of war-time evacuation (1942-44) and the new program of Russian and Ukrainian settlement in the Kazakh steppes since 1952.

On the face of it, Russian migration threatens the natives with eventual destruction. Central Asia appears to be faced with ethnic Russification,¹⁷⁷

⁹ The Turkmen SSR is the exception. Official Soviet statistics for 1939, when the total population of this republic was 1,251,900, break down its ethnic structure as follows: Turkmen 59.2 percent; Russians 18.7 percent; Uzbeks 8.5 percent; Kazakhs 4.9 percent; other nationalities 8.7 percent. Z. G. Freikin, *Turkmenstanskaia SSR* (Moscow, 1954), p. 24. [62]

000 preponderance of males over females.

•/61 In order to judge the growth of population we have data from three uyezds of the
/63 Semirechie oblast which show

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1 birth for every 20 persons
1 death for every 21 persons
Natural increase: 0.3%

It is clear from this that the birth rate among the natives is very high, which is in agreement with the general rule: the more civilized a people is, the lower is its birth rate. On the other hand the death rate of the native population also is considerably higher than the death rate of other peoples. Thus the percent of natural increase is two-thirds below that of the population of European Russia, where the annual increase is up to 1%.

The birth rate and mortality and the natural increase of the Russian population living in the Turkestan region corresponds to the data for European Russia.

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/335/ Among the Kazakhs and Sarts one observes a high female mortality, which results in a preponderance of males, as mentioned above. This predominance is reported to be as much
562 as 10%. The high female mortality among the Kazakhs and Sarts (and in general among our Moslem subjects in the Turkestan region) is due, apparently, to the more terrible and oppressed position which the woman occupies in the Moslem world here. Doomed to heavy labor, knowing no rest and peace, suffering various hardships, the Moslem woman ages early and dies before her time.

161 If the percent of natural increase in the Turkestan region is not high, we will see something quite different if we examine the population increase which results from other causes. The annexation of new lands and the colonization of the region both by the Russians and by natives coming in from neighboring territories, has increased the population figure for the area three-fold.

The table on the following page shows the population change in the region for the eleven years from 1867 through 1877.

/336/ From this table it is found that:

1) In general, the density of the population of the region almost tripled.

162 2) The newly occupied territories not only increased the actual population of the region by almost 60%, but what is more essential, with their annexation to the area, the earlier proportion of sedentary to nomadic population was changed favorably and decisively. The nomads, who constituted between 1867 and 1869 around 70 to 80% of the total population of the region, by 1876 had already lost the numerical superiority to the sedentary population. In 1877 the sedentary group numbered over 200,000 more than the nomads, and represented up to 53% of the total population.

3) The sedentary population in the region increases much faster than the nomadic population.

II

The significance of the local population in relation to the composition of the military district.

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702 The native population of the Turkestan area is excused from the obligation of military recruitment. It is difficult to say whether this gift

Years	Population			of 1000 persons of the total population there are:		
	Sedentary		Nomadic	Russians	non-Russians	
	Russian	Non-Russian			Sedentary	Normadizing
1867	24,689	148,650	887,975	23	138	839
1868	24,589	309,835	1,048,585	18	224	758
1869	31,956	482,630	1,014,975	21	316	683
1870	30,815	531,780	1,031,585	19	334	647
1871	37,743	623,290	1,087,880	21	356	623
1872	38,726	645,108	1,095,431	22	363	615
1873	40,334	789,208	1,171,041	20	388	592
1874	44,995	787,188	1,194,841	22	388	590
1875	51,414	907,262	1,276,730	23	406	571
1876	51,414	1,404,027	1,381,533	18	495	487
1877	59,273	1,561,262	1,417,584	19	514	467

8: Kosenko--18 G-4, 5 (1868-80)1880

RL1 Turkestan

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000 Part III. Population. Accounts of the Quartering of the Military.

I

I. The population of the okrug. General survey of the population of the okrug. The distribution in more or less populated areas. The relation of the sedentary population to the nomadic. The urban population. The village population. The colonization of the region: 1) by natives in the Syr-Darya oblast' and the Zeravshan okrug; 2) by the Russians in the Semirechie oblast'.

161 The tables in Part I, Chapter 1 (not translated here) indicate that the density of population of the Turkestan region is very low. It is equal only to 156 persons per square mile, that is, almost one-fifth the density of the population of European Russia; yet while it is about equal to the density in the Vologda guberniya (137), it is three times higher than the density of population of western Siberia.

The densest population is in the Zeravshan okrug (734), where the density is close to that of Kostroma guberniya. Next is the Fergana oblast' (552), which can be compared with the Ufa guberniya.

The sparsest population is found in the Semirechie oblast' (103), which is populated almost exclusively by nomads. This region is comparable in density to the Olonets guberniya.

/377/ Although Turkestan is poor in general compared with the sparsely populated parts of European Russia, nevertheless there

161. is no corner of European Russia with as dense a population as in certain fertile valleys in this region. Such valleys are those of Fergana and Zeravshan, where the density is not only greater than the most populated places in European Russia but also no less than the most fertile regions of western Europe. In the Fergana valley there are 4158 persons per square mile.

In the Zeravshan valley the population density reaches 5000 per square mile. Thus in the Afarikent district there are 5091 persons per square mile, and in the Sugut district 4315.

In the valley of the Ili River in the Kuldja district, the population density in some places can be compared with the density of population of the Zeravshan okrug.

Likewise, a dense population is found in the valleys of the Chirchik, Angren and Keles rivers along the piedmont of the Turkestan mountain range, and in general in all places where the abundance of water rewards the farmer's labor with a surplus. Where the topographic and climatic conditions are not favorable to sedentary life, however, the population is very sparse. To the latter category belong the mountainous areas, covered with bare and sterile rocks and the sandy dry steppes, which can be used only for the movement of nomads.

Yet there are many places in Turkestan which possess all the conveniences for nomadic and sedentary life, but still remain unsettled. Such are the valleys of the Chirchik, Arys, Talas, Chu and many other rivers, which can

161 support a many more people than those living there at the present time.

In regard to the density of population of the Turkestan region, it should be noted that it is greatest where the sedentary element predominates. Thus the southeastern part of the region (Zeravshan okrug, Fergana and the two southern uyezds of the Syr-Darya oblast'), which is populated primarily by sedentary people has a higher population density than the north-western /378/ part of the region (Semirechie, the five northern uyezds of the Syr-Darya oblast', and the Amu-Darya otdel), where nomads predominate.

In the table below, the total territory of the region is divided in this way into two unequal halves, and the relative population of each and the corresponding stage of development of sedentary life is shown (1).

1. This table and those following are taken from the official report.

	Territory in square miles	P o p u l a t i o n			Persons per square mile	Percent of sedentary population
		Total	Sedentary	Nomadic		
<u>Southeast culti- vated belt</u> (Zeravshan ok- rug, Fergana and two southern uyezds of Syr- Darya oblast'	3,292 (17%)	1,588,945 (52%)	1,379,690 (85%)	209,255 (15%)	483	87
<u>Northwest steppe belt</u> (Semirechie, the five northern uyezds of the Syr-Darya oblast' and the Amu- Darya otdel	16,149 (83%)	1,449,175 (48%)	240,120 (15%)	1,209,055 (85%)	90	17

161 It has already been said that the
167 population of the Turkestan region is growing
not as a result of natural increase but for
the most part, as a consequence of a large
influx of native and Russian colonists. The
influx of nomad camps from other oblast's and
adjacent dominions, although they do increase
the population /383/ of the steppe belt of the
government general, is not a permanent matter.

The in-migration of sedentary aliens
is of a completely different nature. This
movement has every earmark of a colonizing
movement of permanent character, and it has
already shown remarkable success in a com-
paratively short time in populating the area.
This promises a still greater development of
a sedentary way of life in the populated oases
in the future.

In this movement one can trace two
original currents: one, a mass of newcomers
moving toward the southern oases of the cul-
tivated belt, consists of migrants from the
adjacent independent dominions; the second,
coming from interior Russia and Siberia, fur-
nishes the region with a Russian colonizing
population.

The peace and order established in the
Russian oblast's of Turkestan and the incom-
parably fewer taxes serve as attractions for
the emigration of natives from the neighboring
countries. The significance of this migration
can be judged by the gradually rising figures
of the sedentary houses in the uyezds of the
Syr-Darya oblast', where the population has not
increased by the addition of new settlements.

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8: Kostenko -86-G-4,5 (1868-80) 1880 RLI Turkesta
RLI

By Uyezds	The Number of Sedentary Houses										Increase	
	1868	1869	1870	1871	1872	1873	1874	1875	1876	1877	Absolute	%
Kurama...	27,631	28,784	28,877	30,417	30,507	30,508	31,383	31,283	31,283	31,330	3,699	13
Khodz- hent... including former Dzhazak (Dzhizak)	15,806	15,806	18,393	20,915	24,333	24,333	24,620	24,620	23,339	25,727	9,920	63
Chimkent...	3,467	5,063	5,347	6,735	4,030	4,327	4,467	4,467	4,467	4,633	4,007	116
Turkestan...					2,750	2,805	2,805	2,805	2,805	2,841		
Auliye- Ata...	363	413	564	709	709	709	791	795	795	932	569	157
Total	47,267	50,066	53,181	58,776	62,329	62,682	64,066	63,970	62,689	65,463	18,196	39

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/385/ From this table it can be seen that the number of sedentary households in the oblast' increased on the whole by almost 40%. In the Turkestan, Chimkent and Auliye-Ata uyezds, the sedentary population more than doubled, in Khodzhent uyezd it increased 63% and only in the Kurama uyezd was the increase as low as 13% according to the official figures.

The figure of 18,196 new houses corresponds approximately to 100,000 persons of both sexes. This figure does not include, however, the members of the immigrant trade, crafts and the class of unskilled laborers, who are not registered in the volost's and villages, but whose number must be quite considerable after the twelve years of existence of the region. It cannot be expressed in definite figure because of the lack of reliable evidence. The total sum of new colonizing population which has settled in the Syr-Darya oblast' from 1867 to 1877 adds up to approximately 300,000 persons. In the Zeravshan okrug from 1871 to 1876 the number of houses increased from 44,794 to 52,171, which amounts to about a 25% increase for five years.

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The colonizing movement in Semirechie is just as successful. This part of the region is being colonized almost exclusively by Russian immigrants from western Siberia (primarily from the Tobolsk guberniya) as well as the interior guberniyas of the empire (especially from the Voronezh guberniya). Every year more and more transports of immigrants pour in, so many that the local administration can scarcely provide land for all of them. The distribution of Russian settlers in Semirechie moved along

36/ Gansh-burkh, Tanau-bashi, Chal'mak. Some of these mahalas, as for example, Yangi-shakhar, are formed of settlements which combined as a result of the expansion of the town. But since

[574] this settlement was too big, and according to local custom all the inhabitants of a mahala¹ are invited to the family celebrations like weddings, circumcisions, etc. which take place there, the frugal Sarts divided it into five separate mahalas. For this same reason there are two Kator-turas and two Okh-mechets. The population of this district² according to the data of the Tashkent organizational committee is 10,194, living in 3030 households. In this district of the town there are up to sixty [368] mosques and 3 medresses: Ishan Kuli Leshkar kushbegi, Takht-tak and Dikzer. In addition to this, there are 10 schools housed at the mosques, with 230 pupils.

[438] The main producers in this part of the town² are smelters of cast iron, saddle makers, oil manufacturers and weavers of matting, these latter predominate. In 1870 the number of such workshops was 567. It was here that the weaving of mats was begun by Divana Burkh, who was the first to work at this trade. From him it then spread further, and therefore, the 'kishlak' (village) where Divana Burkh lived is named after him.

[367] A very small part of the land belonging to this part of the town² outside of what is occupied by buildings, is used in gardens, a total of 653 tanaps. (1)

[804] 1. A tanap is 1/6 of a desyatina. (or 0.45 acres).

¹ [i.e. Ward - Analyst]

² [i.e. the Shaikhan-taur district - Analyst]

361 2) Ruman, 3) Kulangyr, 4) Sheikh Burkhan,
5) Pumchi-kur, 6) Gava or Kuruk, which are
named after the aryks of greater or lesser
importance which irrigate their plowed lands
and gardens. These mahalas are formed from
the outskirts of town which are laid out in
gardens. Here part of the inhabitants live
permanently and part move out from the town
only for the summer.

Khodzhent is divided into two districts:
Rozak on the west, and Kalinau on the east.
The border line between them is taken as the
aryk Mazar, which enters the town between the
Chervak and Chuyanchi gates and flows into
the Syr-Darya near the Kalendar Khan mahala.
The town is thus divided into two parts by
this aryk. In one part, the Razak district,
there are 2,800 dwellings together with the
suburb mahalas Iova and Kuruk. In the other
district of Kalinau, there are 3,000 dwellings
including the remaining suburban mahalas. Cal-
culating an average of 5 persons per house, one
may infer that there are about 14,000 persons
in the Razak district, and about 15,000 in the
Kalinau district. Thus in the entire town of
Khodzhent there are about 29,000 inhabitants.
They are almost all Tadzhiks, except for about
100 Uzbeks, 50 Kashgarians, 30 Jews and 7
Hindus.

361 In Khodzhent there are many gardens in
247 addition to those which surround it from the
outside. It is calculated that 733 tanaps
(a tanap is 0.45 acres) in Khodzhent are in
gardens. There is a particularly large number
of gardens in the western part or district of
town, Razak, which is larger in area than the
Kalinau district although it has a smaller